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ABSTRACT

A sociological study of students at Loyola University at the time of their protest regarding Kent State University and Cambodia revealed a wealth of factors regarding intergenerational conflict among Catholics. The majority of students supported the leaders and active participants of the political demonstration, and also approved of smoking marijuana, premarital sex, and "left wing" politics. They indicated that making money and social status were not significant considerations in job choice. These views represent a significantly different "alternative life style" for these students from that of their "middle American" parents. The espousal of alternate political and social values by the adolescents was found to reflect a long-term pattern of intergenerational conflict. Students who experienced the parents' marital relationship as discordant or the child-parent, especially the child-mother, relationship as conflictive and lacking in understanding, were less authoritarian and less likely to internalize parental values regarding politics, sex, religion and life style. No relationship was found between the students' life style and parental education, income or occupation, and the college experience did not prove a liberalizing factor. (KS)

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RADICALS and RADICALS IN ROMAN COLLARS

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Introduction[1]

Contemporary industrial society is experiencing a major transformation comparable to the Renaissance, Industrialization, or the recent emergence of the Corporate State. In the advanced technocracies of which the U.S. is the best example, dreams of unprecedented affluence are about to be realized. But these dreams appear illusory; recent events suggest that they have turned to nightmares. The most powerful country in the world has been responsible for the deaths of almost a million Asians. The outrage and indignation to such misplaced priorities has resulted in uprisings in Watts and Detroit, Kent and Jackson.[2] The combattants in these domestic conflicts appear to be drawn primarily along ideational lines which reflect generational demarcations. While the conflict of generations may be widespread, the current conflict of young and old borders on parricide and infanticide--in rhetoric if not in deed.

In any society, intergenerational continuity is a function of socialization (Inkeles, 1968; Clausen, 1968). The values, attitudes, and skills of every culture are passed on to subsequent generations by parents and peers and, in modern society, by schools and work situations. In societies with a disjunction between the particularistic ascriptive milieu of the family and universalistic achievement norms of the economy, a youth culture will emerge (Eisenstadt, 1956). Youth cultures generally act as socialization agencies, which

facilitate the transition from childhood consumption to adult production. At one time the American youth culture may have seemed opposed to the dominant adult society, but close examination revealed that the concerns with sports and dating were in fact means of socializing competition, cooperation, and sociability in order to assume positions in the hierarchies of corporate capitalism (Coleman, 1961)[3]

In the past few years technology has led to cataclysmic transformations in every realm of life, in the occupational system, in communications (e.g. sattelite T.V. transmission), the availability of consumer goods, morality, education, etc. (Langman, 1971). Technology has transformed the "youth culture" from an institutionally sanctioned system of socialization into adult roles, to a "counterculture" which not only repudiates the dominant adult culture but threatens the very material and ideological basis of that culture.

For purposes of the present discussion we will consider participation by young people in political protest and/or espousal of alternate life styles as a manifestation of intergenerational conflict. This is an empirical definition--our data show that few students believed their parents supported demonstrations, drugs, premarital sex, draft card burning, etc.

By "counterculture" we mean that small segment of

contemporary youth who espouse alternate life styles and values. They seek to change society by political means or by establishing their own alternative society. Our study is not of the 'counterculture," rather, the support that a larger segment of young people show for its values, values which are often the antithesis of parental values,

From Elite to Proletariat--the Spread of the Counterculture

Most social analysts agree that a major factor responsible for the "making of a counterculture" (Roszak) is an advanced technology dedicated to the production of goods and services for an affluent consumer society (Roszak, 1969; Reich, 1970; Mead, 1970; Langman, 1971). Certain segments of contemporary youth are more amenable to the influence of this technology. The research of Flacks (1968) and Kenniston (1968, 1966) revealed that the typical activist was most likely to be a Jew from a professional or academic family in Scarsdale who goes to a "prestige" university. His or her grades are above average, he is most likely to major in philosophy or sociology. His parents were liberals whose aspirations for reform were thwarted by the depression. Family relationships warm, friendly, and understanding. The activist was not likely to be rebelling against his father as Feuer or Bettleheim might argue; rather, his father's humanitarian concerns were strong influences on his own actions.

The "typical" activist described by Flacks and Kenniston may have been the vanguard of a movement. Simple observation reveals that many of the values of the counterculture have diffused to a wider sector of youth. Recall the last few cab drivers or postmen you saw. The last time you were by a large construction site did you notice the long hair and moustaches under some of the hard hats?[4] The "counterculture" is no longer limited to a small minority at prestige universities. The nationwide campus strike of the time of the Kent-Cambodia-Jackson State incidents would indicate that the political values of the counterculture are supported by large numbers of young people--most of whom are neither affluent nor Jewish nor from Scarsdale. The magnitude and distribution of the protest surprised many people--including the authors of this paper--sociologists at Loyola University of Chicago, a Catholic university that went on strike. Our university is a Jesuit school of 14,000 students in the various graduate and undergraduate schools and colleges.

As individuals we supported the demonstration; as sociologists we could not let this event go unstudied. Therefore, we pooled our talents and within a few days we produced a questionnaire, attempted to gather a random sample and obtained the data. We obtained the student enrollment lists of the college of arts and sciences at our campus (N=5600). Using various random sampling techniques, we selected 180 students for inclusion. These students were invited to fill

out our questionnaire. We were able to obtain 117 completed schedules. In some cases the students couldn't come in, and the questionnaires were mailed back. With a 66% response rate, there may be some question as to sampling bias (e.g. "Liberal" students might be more willing to answer our questions). However, the leader of the local Y.A.F. was included, and we had the same percentage of ROTC subjects as are enrolled in the school.

To those of you who have never been on a Catholic campus, let us dispel some myths. None of our buildings are a thousand years old. The halls are lit by flourescent lights, not torches. Classes are not usually begun with a prayer. We have never heard a Gregorian chant in the background. Catholic colleges and universities are quite similar to most others, if we exclude Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Berkeley, and Chicago. We find that Catholic higher education shows about the same patterns of excellence and mediocrity as American colleges in general (Greeley, 1967). Our students do not wear robes, although some are seminarians, few go to mass every morning. The evidence would show that students at a Catholic school are pretty similar to students at any other school (Greeley, 1967, 1963; Greeley and Rossi, 1966; Hassenger, 1967).

A most significant fact to consider is that our students are by and large the offspring of "Middle America"

Less than a fourth of the fathers were college graduates, the average family income was about $12,000 (53% reported income between eight and fourteen thousand dollars). Sixty percent of the students hold part-time jobs. A widely supported political demonstration at Loyola raises interesting questions about intergenerational conflict, social change and the relation of religious values to social values.

Intergenerational Differences

While the leaders and active participants of political demonstrations may be a minority, they were supported by the majority. In our sample, 69% approved of the strike and 59% thought the actions of the strike committee were constructive. 88% approved of non-violent protest as a legitimate means of social change. We were surprised by the support for violence: 33% thought demonstrations "should be allowed no matter what," 80% expected more violence in the next few years, 12% advocated violent confrontation to get change, and 6% condoned destruction of university property. (Fortunately there was no violence on our campus--since our offices are in the ROTC building.)

Regardless of theoretical explanation, there is a consistency or unity between various values. While a strike or demonstration may spotlight some of the political beliefs of college students, there are other dimensions of belief which show major differences between generations. Thus, 61% felt

marijuana should be easily obtainable, 69% approved of sexual relations without marital intent. Seventy-seven percent considered themselves politically moderate to radical while only 18% so considered their parents. There are other ways in which our sample shows greater affinity for the alternate values rather than dominant values. They were looking for careers that provided opportunities to use their abilities (85%0, that allowed creativity (76%), working with or helping people (68%), Few considered making money (27%) or social status (10%) highly important. More than half the students considered their fathers more interested in making money or attaining status than they were themselves.

Correlates and Non-Correlates of Counterculture values

There is no single factor that can explain either the growth of a counterculture or a wide affinity for its values. The causes of current intergenerational conflict are both individual and social. It is important to note that these are different levels of explanation. A social movement, which may be the result of technological or political change, will affect and recruit certain types of personalities. Similarly, individual needs usually require available social channels for expression (Parsons and Shils, 1951; Bendix, 1958, Wrong, 1961). Therefore, we will not attempt to explain intergenerational conflict simply as parent-child conflict or the response to

anomie (Merton, 1968). In point of fact, we found that anomie had little predictive value.[5]

A. Socio-Economic Variables

Socio-economic class is generally one of the most valuable antecedants of behavior. It has consequences for child-rearing, political participation, ideology, longevity, mental and physical health, etc.

TABLE 1

Correlation: Strike Participation and Alternate Values by Parental Income and Education

	Father's Education	Mother's Education	Father's Occupation	Family Income
Participation in strike	.12	.10	.06	.08
Alternate values	-.01	.01	.04	-.07

¡None of these values was significant.

In our sample, there was no relation between parental education, occupation or income and the student's political and/or social values. We regard this as a very significant finding. previous research has indicated that father's socio-economic status is a good predictor of offspring's willingness to engage in political action and/or alternate life styles. We felt that while this finding may have been valid in other samples a few years ago, it must now be qualified. While the children of liberal professionals may have spearheaded the

movement, the counterculture now has its own momentum promoting its growth and diffusion. As Weber (1920) taught us, the factors that initiate a social change may not necessarily be the ones that maintain it. If substantial numbers of young people of "ethnic Middle American" backgrounds approve alternate values and life-styles, we can expect that the variant orientation of the counterculture may eventually become dominant (Cf. Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961).

B. Authoritarianism

The fact remains, however, that not all students are affected in the same way. Since the structural factors can be assumed constant, and the parental education and income showed no relation to political activism, we then explored social-psychological factors associated with differential recruitments. One possible factor we considered was authoritarianism. Authoritarianism is defined as a tendency to pattern interpersonal relations in terms of obedience to superiors and domination of subordinates (Adorno, et.al., 1950). Authoritarianism was intensively studied for twenty years. While there are certain conceptual and methodological difficulties, authoritarianism has been shown associated with conservative political beliefs, acceptance of the status quo, inflexible thinking, avoidance of ambiguity and/or new experience. We used the 12 item forced choice scale of Berkowitz and Wolton (1964) which eliminates acquiesence sets.

Authoritarianism proved to be a strong predictor of political activity, life-style self-designation and support for alternative values.

Table 2

Authoritarianism and Social/Political Values

Authoritarianism and political (strike) attendance	$r = -.34$	$p < .001$
Authoritarianism and "square" self concept	$r = .37$	$p < .02$
Authoritarianism and alternate values	$r = -.54$	$p < .001$

Political activity was measured as the degree of participation, non-participation, or avoidance of 17 major strike events, e.g. peace masses, marches, rallies, etc. By life style designation we refer to self placement on a continuum ranging from "hippy" to "square." A high score on the alternate values measure indicated support for destruction of draft files, draft evasion, marijuana use, premarital sex, and "left"politics.

C. The Roots of Conflict

Since authoritarianism was highly (negatively) associated with participation in the strike and alternate values, it seems as if socialization experiences may contribute to intergenerational differences. Authoritarianism is a learned behavioral attitudinal pattern arising from an authoritarian

family which tends to be strict and repressive of sexual and/or aggressive feelings. Authoritarian parents regard the child as weak, helpless, and in need of protection. Given the extensive research on authoritarianism, we therefore explored certain areas of parent-child relationships.

One area of parent-child conflict is political. A combined score of participation in the strike and support for alternate values was correlated against political differences with mother and father. The results were positive and highly significant.

Table 3

Strike Participation and Alternate Values by Political Differences with Parents.

Strike participation and alternate values by political differences with father	$r = .33$ $p < .001$
Strike participation and alternate values by political differences with mother	$r = .41$ $p < .001$

But this does not tell us which comes first, early conflict or later political conflict and reappraisal of past experiences. Therefore, we asked questions about the relationship to parents: the degree to which the parental relationship was seen along a dimension of friendship and conflict, and the amount of understanding.

Table 4

Alternate Values, Authoritarianism, and Political Differences by Relationship with Parents

	Father		Mother	
	Friendly	Under-standing	Friendly	Under-standing
Alternate values	.25**	.15**	.23**	.17
Authoritarianism	.25**	.18	.16	.22*
Political differences	.40***	.45***	.20*	.16

*.01 **.005 ***.001 Otherwise significant at .05

Out data suggest that the espousal of alternate political and social values by adolescents reflects a long term pattern rather than a current response. Students who did not perceive their parents as friendly and understanding were less authoritarian and hence more open to such experiences as marijuana use, premarital sex and radical political change. They were less likely to adhere to parents' more traditional political, social, and religious values (see below).

The literature on socialization indicates that a close parental relation promotes greater internalization of parents' values. Therefore, in our sample it seems as if early parent-child conflict reduces the degree of identification with parental values, as well as fostering less authoritarian offspring. Our data does not include the causes of this parent-child conflict. One interesting set of data indicates however, that parent-child difficulties may be part of marital discord

in general.

Table 5

Father-Mother Discord

Father as friend	-.45	$p < .001$
Father as understanding	-.46	$p < .001$
Mother as friend	-.26	$p < .002$
Mother as understanding	-.20	$p < .01$

For us to speculate on the causes of family discord would be beyond our data. Some other factors that would have to be considered would include technological changes, more permissive child rearing, the breakdown of the extended family (most parents were first generation), acculturation, etc.

Religious Influence

The findings we have so far presented we feel applicable to a broad spectrum of contemporary college students. But our study at a Catholic university must also consider another factor - the role of the Church and Christian beliefs. When we think of the Church we are really talking about two traditions, the tradition of radical social change as typified by the Vatic n Council, the Berrigan brothers, Father Groppi and even Christ himself; secondly there is the institutional bureaucracy and traditional orthodoxy typified by the Curia

and the conservative hierarchy, the radicals and Roman collars. When our strike was in progress several of the young priests and seminarians were actively supporting the demonstration. One of the components in our measure of strike participation was attendance at peace masses and memorial masses to the innocent victims of S.E. Asia, Kent, and Jackson.

Our data indicate that students fall primarily into three categories of religious self-designation: conventional (54%), personal (26%), and none (19%). In the first category are simply those who now consider themselves Catholic. There were also four Protestants and one converted Jew in this group. This group has simply retained their parents' religious designation. While we have no information as to the varieties of belief associated with religious designation, we will see that religious designation has definite causes and consequences.

Table 6

Percentage Distribution, Present Religion and Religion Raised Under

	Raised Under	Present Religion
Protestant	8%	3%
Catholic	89%	50%
Jewish	--	1%
Atheist	--	2%
Personal	1%	26%
None	1%	9%
Other (Greek Orthodox)	2%	2%

Those who consider their present religion as personal fall into a wide range of beliefs with four major patterns.

First there are those who consider their religion as anti-ritualistic and anti-institutional, then there were those who accepted the ritual but not the dogma. Then there were some whose concept of religion was pantheistic, belief in higher consciousness, etc. Many of these students indicated that Teilhard de Chardin was a major influence in their thinking. Finally, there were those who equated religion and life style as one's life and experiences.

Table 7

Distribution of Religious Beliefs in Total Sample and Among Those with a Personal Religion

	Total Sample	Personal Religion
Anti-ritual, anti-institutional	9%	35%
Accepted ritual, not dogma	2%	7%
Pantheism, higher consciousness	6%	23%
Religion as life style	12%	3%

Finally we have those who designate their religion as atheist, agnostic, or none. Rejection of parental religion is another manifestation of intergenerational differences. Almost half our sample (45%) did not retain the religion under which they were raised.

The factors that lead students to reject the religious values of their parents are similar to the rejection of political or social values. Since a crucial dimension of

Is adherence to tradition, we examinedits relation to present religious designation.

Table 8

Self Designation of Religion and Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Agnostic	Atheist	Personal	None	Other
$\bar{X}$	36.7	31.5	27.0	30.3	14.0	25.8	27.0	31.0
σ	6.5	7.5	--	8.0	19.0	8.1	9.1	2.1
N	3	58	1	9	2	30	1.0	2

1 "Other" turned out to be Eastern Rite, e.g. Ukranian and Greek Orthodox.

Authoritarianism	Catholic Protestant	Atheist Agnostic None	Personal	
Lowest Quartile	33.3% (5)	13.3% (2)	53.3% (8)	14.6 (15)
Median Quartiles	60.6 (43)	9.9 (7)	29.6 (21)	68.9 (71)
Highest Quartile	82.4 (14)	11.8 (2)	5.9 (1)	16.5 (17)
	60.2 (62)	10.7 (11)	29.1 (30)	100 (103)

Raw Chi Square = 9.52
Gamma = -0.53

These data show that those lowest in authoritarianism are least likely to consider themselves members of an organized religion. They are more open to alternative forms of religious experience.

Many of the subjects with a personal religion maintained that religious values strongly affected political actions. They referred to such beliefs as the sanctity of life ("Thou shalt not kill"), sharing of wealth (sermon on the Mount), and non-violence ("Turn the other cheek"). Religion, however, may be seen either as a cause or as a consequence of political action. Cognitive dissonance theory would predict that theology would be invcked as a consequent justification for a demonstration. Beliefs would change to become more consistent with behavior. From a psycholanaytic standpoint, ideology, on the personal level, may justify deep rooted dimensions of personality and rationalize the expression of certain needs. Low authoritarians may sanctify political action by the adoption of unorthodox religions.

Another interpretation is possible. Social action theory (Weber, Parsons) regards values as causal, prior to, and directive of action (Parsons and Shils, 1951). For some of our sample, low authoritarianisn leads to openness to alternate values, one manifestation of which is espousal of a personal religion. Many of our subjects reported a religious awakening prior to political actions. One of the strike events, a protest march to a nearby armory, began with a mass. Many

activists of the cloth claim religious motivation. One need only think of Martin Luther King and Jesse Jackson, as well as the Berrigans and Father Groppi.

To discover the basis of alternative religions we again looked at the parent-child relation.

INSERT TABLE 9 ABOUT HERE

These results were very interesting. The relation with father (friendly-conflictual) and degree of understanding demonstrated no relation to religious values. On the other hand, the maternal relation was strongly related. Students who reported the relation with mother as conflictual and/or lacking in understanding were more likely to have retained their original religion. This is especially interesting in view of the role of the Holy Mother in Catholic dogma. Warner (1959) characterized Catholicism as sensual and matriarchal while Protestantism is puritanical and patriarchal. Following the structural interpretation of the Arunta (Durkheim, 1912; Warner, 1932), Warner feels the sacred family reflects the earthly family. Mary, the perfact mother, was "thrown out of the house" by the early Protestants, those who converted. It seems that in our sample, the mother is central to the transmission of religious values, while both parents transmit political and social values. Conflict with the mother contributes to later rejection of the mother's religious values. This interpretation is clearly in line with Kotre's (1970)

findings that leaving the Church is strongly related to early parent-child conflict, especially between mother and son.

College Experience

The final data concerns the role of the university itself as a socialization agency in the genesis of alternate values. The classical Bennington research of Newcomb as well as Wallace's diatribes against us pointy-headed intellectuals with briefcases suggest the college experience is a liberalizing influence. On the other hand, Greeley (1967) has demonstrated that, for the most part, Catholic education has been primarily concerned with the transmission of Christian tradition, rather than the pursuit of new knowledge. Many students have told us that parents don't want them corrupted by non-catholic education. The parents believe that a Jesuit university will insure their children a good Christian education, but, as we reported, almost half the students have espoused alternateive religious preferences.

In order to see if college attendance "liberalizes" students we compared year in school with measures of strike participation and alternate social or religious values. If the university has a liberalizing influence, seniors should be more liberal in thought and deed than freshmen. If the university is the bearer of tradition, and there is an attrition of students less likely to maintain orthodoxy, then seniors

should be more conservative. The data show that year in college was unrelated to any outcome variable. One possible interpretation is that the liberalizing influence of higher education and the conservative traditions cancel each other out. Another interpretation may be that the liberalizing influence of education is diminished by anticipatory socialization into the work world in the senior year.

To further explore this finding we examined the relation of Grade Point Average with political participation and alternate values. Previous research has shown that liberal activists tend to be among the "brighter" students. Our data report opposite results. GPA was negatively correlated with strike participation ($r=-.22$ $p < .01$) and alternate values ($r=-.23$ $p < .007$). Further, GPA was positively correlated with authoritarianism ($r=.20$ $p < .10$). These findings make us question whether GPA is a measure of "intelligence" at a Catholic school, or in fact indicates positive adjustment to a conservative university. The more authoritarian students "do better" in school, but are not likely to espouse alternate political, social, or religious values. There was no relation of authoritarianism to length of college attendance.

Summary

Our data can now be summarized into a preliminary model for analyzing intergeneration conflict among Catholics. Family conflict affects parent-child relations, although some husband-wife conflict may be the result of the child's behavior. Children who experienced the parent-child relation as conflictual and with little understanding tended to be less authoritarian and less likely to internalize parental values regarding occupational aspirations, attitudes toward authority, sex, politics, and life style. Conflict with mother alone led to espousal of alternate religious designations ranging from atheist to personal. The alternative life styles and values are basically supported by substantial numbers of students. The majority approves of, if not actively engages in, "left" wing politics, smoking pot and having sex. They are more influenced by the technological and social changes affecting society. For some of this"liberated generation," Christian dogma affords a justification if not a stimulus for humanitarian concerns. Our data suggest that major social and political transformations are in progress. In another generation the "counter-culture" will consist of a small minority who spend their efforts in sociological analysis.

Footnotes

1. This research was made possible by a grant from Loyola University Research Committee Fund under a National Science Foundation grant. Thanks goes to Carolyn Block for her review of an earlier draft.

2. Black protest in the urban ghetto was not directed at the war in Vietnam per se but to the misallocation of over a hundred billion dollars for a folly while the ghettoes lack quality schools, hospitals, housing, and opportunities for dignity. Further, blacks constitute a disproportionate amount of the casualties due to " "enemy" bullets or "ally" drugs. Finally, black veterans return and find that the war has so hurt the economy that jobs are few and far between.

3. It is interesting that the early sixties liberal intelligensia bemoaned the anti-intellectualism of the Adolescent Society. Now, when some portions of youth have become "intellectually sophisticated," they have discovered the hypocracies and contradictions of the liberals--especially the extent to which the academics provided the necessary expertise to administer the corporate state in general and wage a fruitless war in the name of an obsolete idealogy.

4. We must caution that physical appearances can be deceiving and external appearances are not membership badges in the

counterculture. For example, motorcycle gangs espouse an alternate life style replete with drugs and sex. However, they also tend toward right wing politics and have been known to practice violence.

5. r = .14 with strike participation, r = .11 with alternate values.

Table 9

Relationship Between Parents and Children
By Present Religion

	FATHER			MOTHER		
Friendship	Catholic Protestant	Atheist Agnostic	Personal	Catholic Protestant	Atheist Agnostic	Personal
Friendly	81%	87%	79%	84%	70%	57%
Tolerable	13	13	16	9	10	32
Conflict	6	--	5	7	20	11
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	55	8	19	57	10	28
	X^2 not significant			X^2=10.18, 4 d.f., $p < .05$		

Understanding	Catholic Protestant	Atheist Agnostic	Personal	Catholic Protestant	Atheist Agnostic	Personal
A Lot	54%	33%	33%	55%	18%	38%
Little	41	56	60	40	55	55
None	5	11	7	5	27	7
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
N	59	9	27	60	11	29
	X^2 not significant			X^2=10.31, 4 d.f.,		$p < .05$